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The Eichmann Case

Before the United Nations Security Council

I. STATEMENT BY MRS. GOLDA MEIR
Minister for Foreign Affairs of Israel

**II. EXCERPTS FROM STATEMENTS BY
MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL**

22 and 23 June 1960

The Israel Office of Information

I. The Eichmann Case In Proper Perspective:

A Statement by Mrs. Golda Meir, Minister for Foreign
Affairs of Israel, in the Security Council
on Wednesday, 22 June 1960

Mr. President,

My Government deeply regrets that the Argentine Government found it necessary to bring this question before the Security Council. Our regret is, first, because we have always had the most friendly relations with the Argentine people and its Government, relations which we deeply value, and secondly, that we have to discuss here, in this forum, the fact that Adolph Eichmann, one of the top war criminals, was discovered by Jews, including Israelis, and taken to Israel.

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I am in full accord with the learned and distinguished Representative of the Argentine in his desire to keep this discussion on the highest level and to avoid recriminations, and I regret that, in the course of my statement, I am going to have to take exception to some of his remarks and to the manner in which he expressed himself. At the same time, with reference to what he said at the beginning of his speech this morning, I wish once again to place on record our appreciation for the help which we have received from the Government and the people of the Argentine, with whom we have always had the most friendly relations. We hope these friendly relations will continue. We are firmly convinced that there is only one firm foundation for friendly relations, namely, that they are based on a proper appreciation of the mutual advantages which they give to both parties.

In our Note to the President of the Security Council last night (S/4341), we referred to two aspects which we consider of great significance. The first concerned the competence of the Security Council under Article 34 of the Charter, which is the Article invoked by Argentina, and we also explained why we cannot and do not share the view of the Argentine Government regarding the failure of diplomatic representations and we gave four reasons why we hold that point of view.

The first reason was that the Note Verbale of 3 June 1960 contained an ultimatum.

Argentina Cancelled Ben Gurion-Frondizi Meeting

The fourth of those reasons, and in our view perhaps the most significant, was that a meeting between the Prime Minister of Israel and the President of Argentina had been arranged to take place in Europe later this week. In his statement this morning, the distinguished Representative of Argentina, partly on the basis of press reports, suggested that in view of the known attitude of the Government of Israel on the question of the return of Eichmann to Argentina, and of conditions laid down by Mr. Ben Gurion, the Government of Argentina does not believe that there exists at the present time the requisite minimum basis for negotiation, and therefore President Frondizi cannot agree to a meeting the results of which have been vitiated in advance. I am informed by the Prime Minister that he was reported out of context, and that the word "condition" should not appear. I think it would interest members of the Security Council to be informed of the contents of a Note Verbale received this morning by our Embassy in Brussels from the Embassy of Argentina in that city. That Note Verbale states:

"Since the Government of Israel has submitted a Note to the United Nations, the President [of Argentina] considers that the meeting would not be possible until after the United Nations has dealt with this question. The President very much regrets that the Note which has been presented by Israel has changed the situation."

Members of the Security Council can judge for themselves what the true situation is, and what the reasons for it are, regarding the meeting between the two leaders. If the meeting does not take place, despite our readiness for such a meeting, it is clear that the responsibility lies on the Government of the Argentine.

The distinguished Representative of the Argentine referred to the meeting which took place recently here in New York between himself and myself. I wish to take this opportunity to express my appreciation for the fact that the Representative of Argentina, with the consent of his Government, made this meeting, which I requested, possible and I can only regret that we were not successful there in reaching an amicable and mutually satisfactory solution of our problem.

Commends The Freedom and Equality of Argentinian Jews

The distinguished Representative of Argentina referred to the fact that in the Republic of Argentina there live several hundreds of thousands of Jews and that all of them, both under the law and in custom, enjoy absolute equality of treatment. I wish to assure the Government

of Argentina, through its Representative here, and the members of the Security Council that the Government and people of Israel, and I am sure Jews the world over, are aware of this and appreciate the freedom and equality which the Jewish community of the Argentine enjoys.

Competence of Security Council in This Case Questioned

I do not wish to occupy the time of the Council with a detailed refutation of the legal argumentation which was adduced this morning by the distinguished Representative of Argentina, whose legal qualifications and skill are well-known to all delegations in the United Nations. At this stage I merely wish to reserve the right of my delegation to make further observations on that part of the statement if we find this to be necessary after we have given it the full and dispassionate consideration which it merits.

However, I find it necessary to amplify a little what we put forward in our Note yesterday (S/4341) regarding the competence of the Security Council under Article 34 of the Charter and I must say that the distinguished Representative of the Argentine has certainly not answered our objections, or rather limitations, in regard to the competence of the Security Council under Article 34, which, I must again stress, is the Article, the only Article, invoked by the Government of the Argentine in its request to the Council.

That Article states:

"The Security Council may investigate any dispute, or any situation which might lead to international friction, or give rise to a dispute . . ."

I wish to stress the words "may investigate." The Article goes on to specify the one and only legitimate purpose of that investigation:

". . . in order to determine whether the continuance of the dispute or situation is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security."

This means that the Council can take action only in accordance with that Article. My Government is bound, therefore, to regard as *ultra vires* any resolution which may not be in conformity therewith.

Equation of Eichmann and his Victims Resented

There are, however, one or two parts of the ostensibly legal argumentation which transcend the limits of legal argument and which I am sure were included by the distinguished Representative of Argentina without full appreciation of their more general implications, and to these I must make a brief but emphatic reply now.

→ In one part of his statement the distinguished Representative of Argentina based an argument on the fact that not only Eichmann had entered and established himself in Argentina under false papers and irregularly, but also many refugees, including Jewish refugees, from Nazi oppression. I find it quite extraordinary that, even in the context of legal argument, the distinguished Representative of Argentina found it possible and appropriate to speak in one and the same breath of Eichmann and of his victims. With all my love of equality as a sacred political concept, I am quite unable to accept this kind of equalization.

Apology for the Manner of Eichmann's Transfer to Israel

Having said that, I wish to say we recognize that the persons who took Eichmann from Argentina to Israel broke the laws of Argentina. For this, the Israel Government has apologized to the Argentine Government in its Note (S/4342), dated 3 June 1960, stating:

"Should it be that the group of volunteers violated Argentine law or infringed the sovereign rights of Argentina, the Government of Israel expresses its regret. The Government of Israel requests that the extraordinary significance of bringing to trial a person who bears the responsibility for the murder of millions of our people be taken into consideration and that it be noted that these volunteers, themselves among the survivors of the Nazi holocaust, placed this historical mission above all other considerations. The Government of Israel is fully confident that the Government of Argentina will reveal understanding for these historical and moral values."

and in a personal letter from the Israel Prime Minister to President Frondizi (S/4342), in which he stated:

"Though I do not question for a moment the duty of every State to respect its neighbour's laws — and we regard the Argentine Republic of which you are the head, as an outstanding example of a State founded on respect for law — yet we can appreciate the overriding motives whose tremendous moral and emotional force underlay the determination to find the chief murderer and to bring him, with his consent, to Israel.

"I am convinced that Your Excellency will give full weight to the transcendental moral force of these motivations, for you yourself have fought against tyranny and shown your deep regard for human values. I hope you will understand our feelings, accept the expression of our sincere regret for the violation of your country's laws which was the result of an inner moral imperative, and associate yourself with all the friends of justice in the world, who see in the trial of Adolf Eichmann in Israel an act of supreme historic justice, and that the friendly relations between Israel and your country will not be impaired."

But my Government sincerely believes that this isolated violation of Argentine law must be seen in the light of the exceptional and unique character of the crimes attributed to Eichmann on the one hand, and the motives of those that acted in this unusual manner on the other hand.

Total Extermination Was Nazi 'Final Solution' to 'Jewish Question'

Mr. President,

These men belong, as do I, to a people whose tragedy in the Second World War is unmatched in history. No people in modern times has ever mourned the loss of one-third of its people in so short a period. We were 18 million at the beginning of the War; were 12 million when the War was over. Six million of European Jewry were gassed and murdered, among them over one million children.

Historians of this period tell us that the Nazis were responsible for the death of 12 million civilians, not as a result of military operations but as a result of the naked design to enslave and annihilate those populations which did not fit into their picture of a new world order. Half of these were Jews and the other half Slavs, predominantly Russians and Poles.

Hitler divided the peoples of the world into several categories: Germans — the Herrenvolk; French, British, Scandinavians and a few other nations to be absorbed into the Nazi Herrenvolk; Slavic peoples — some to be exterminated, and the rest to be turned into slaves of the Germans; Negroes were not even to be considered human; and Jews — physical extermination of every man, woman and child. Only for Jews was there to be an immediate "final solution."

Eichmann In Charge of Jewish Extermination Program

The Nuremberg Tribunal made a finding that

"In the summer of 1941 . . . plans were made for the 'final solution' of the Jewish question in Europe. This 'final solution' meant the extermination of the Jews, which early in 1939 Hitler had threatened would be one of the consequences of an outbreak of war, and a special section in the Gestapo under Adolf Eichmann, as head of Section B 4 of the Gestapo, was formed to carry out the policy."

In the record of the Nuremberg Trial, we read what *Wisliceny*, Eichmann's aide, said on the process of the "final solution":

"Until 1940 the general policy within the section was to settle the Jewish question in Germany and in areas occupied by Germany by means of a planned emigration. The second phase, after that date, was the concentration of all Jews, in Poland and in other territories occupied by Germany in the East, in ghettos. This period lasted approximately until the beginning of 1942."

"The third period was the so-called 'final solution' of the Jewish question, that is, the planned extermination and destruction of the Jewish race; this period lasted until October 1944, when Himmler gave the order to stop their destruction."

He further states, in answer to a question whether in his official connection with Section IV-A,4 he learned of any order which directed the annihilation of all Jews, he said:

"Yes, I learned of such an order for the first time from Eichmann in the summer of 1942."

Six Million Jews Murdered

Hitler did not solve the Jewish question according to his plans. But he did annihilate 6 million Jews — Jews of Germany, France, Belgium, Holland, Luxemburg, Poland, USSR, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Greece, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Roumania, Bulgaria. With these Jews there were destroyed over 30,000 Jewish communities which for centuries had been the centre of the Jewish faith, learning and scholarship. From this Jewry stemmed some of the giants in the field of arts, literature and science. Was it only this generation of Jews of Europe that was gassed? One million children — the future generation — were annihilated. Who can encompass this picture in all its horror and its consequences for the Jewish people for many generations to come and for Israel? Here was destroyed the natural reservoir for all that is needed for a new country — learning, skill, devotion, idealism, a pioneering spirit.

Israel is the Haven for the Survivors

And what about those who remained alive? Who are they? Each individual is a splinter of a family destroyed — each one lives in the nightmare recollection of his dearest and closest led to the crematorium. Mothers who have seen their babies thrown into the air and used as targets for Nazi bullets. Thousands upon thousands of Jewish women will never be mothers because of Nazi "scientific experiments" performed on them. Israel alone has within its borders tens of thousands of the maimed and sick, all victims of the attempt to solve the Jewish question.

Nazi Horror Described

Rudolph Hoess, the Commandant of Auschwitz, testified at the Nuremburg trial as follows:

"We had two SS doctors on duty at Auschwitz to examine the incoming transports of prisoners. The prisoners would be marched past by one of the doctors, who would make spot decisions as they walked by. Those

who were fit for work were sent into the camp. Others were sent immediately to the extermination plants. Children of tender years were invariably exterminated since by reason of their youth they were unable to work. Very frequently women would hide their children under their clothes but, of course, when we found them we would send the children in to be exterminated."

He goes on to describe the killing:

"It took from 3 to 15 minutes to kill the people in the death chamber—we knew when the people were dead because their screaming stopped. After the bodies were removed, our special commandos took off the rings and extracted the gold from the teeth of the corpses."

Rudolph Hoess says that in Auschwitz 2,500,000 Jews were gassed.

There was no lack of heroic attempts to resist this mass slaughter. The most dramatic attempt was made in the Warsaw Ghetto. How these courageous people were dealt with by the Nazis is related by SS *Brigadier General Stroop*, Military Commander of Warsaw, in one report dated April-May 1943:

"Countless numbers of Jews were liquidated in sewers and bunkers through blasting. Police and Wehrmacht discharged their duties in an exemplary manner. Stroop recorded that his action at Warsaw eliminated 'a proved total of 56,065 people. To that we have to add the number of those killed through blasting, fire, etc. which cannot be counted.'"

According to the Nuremburg judgment

"Adolph Eichmann, who had been put in charge of this programme by Hitler, has estimated that the policy pursued resulted in the killing of 6 million Jews, of which 4 million were killed in the extermination institutions."

Mr. President,

I will not go on with descriptions of these horrors. It would take years to relate all.

Eichmann's Role Documented

Now let us see what Eichmann's role was. Was he an unimportant cog in this monster machine of death and torture?

No! He was *in charge* of this department. *Wisliceny* says on this subject:

"Eichmann had special powers from Muller, his immediate superior, and from the Security Police. He was responsible for the so-called solution of the Jewish question in Germany and in all countries occupied by German."

Bruno Wanek, another witness at the trial of the major war criminals, says:

"Eichmann has occupied, already in Heydrich's lifetime, respectively, a dominant, or absolute special position, constantly widening and growing and in the whole Jewish sector (meaning within the Reichssicherheitshauptamt), he has acted fully independently. Then, after Heydrich's death till the end he was directly responsible to Himmler. This fact was, to my knowledge, generally known, within RSHA."

An affidavit incorporated in the records of the abovementioned trial, by Walter Huppenkothen, Gestapo Officer, follows:

"The Jewish Section (IV-b.4, later IV-A, b.4) and its director, SS-Obersturmbannführer Eichmann, occupied a special position in Amt. IV. It (the Section) was situated in a building on Kurfürstenstrasse, in which Eichmann and most officials of his service unit lived as well. Eichmann himself and a major portion of the officials of his service unit were *not civil servants but officers of the S.D. (Security Service.)*"

It should be noted in this connection that the so-called Jewish section and all of Amt. IV were declared by the Nuremberg judgment to be a criminal organization.

Eichmann Obsessed With Extermination of Jewish People

And how did Eichmann carry out his task? Here is what *Hoess*, in his Memoirs written in the Warsaw prison, says about this:

"Eichmann was a vivacious, active man in his thirties, and always full of energy. He was constantly hatching new plans and perpetually on the lookout for innovations and improvements. He could never rest. He was obsessed with the Jewish question and the order which had been given for its final solution."

And he goes on:

"Yet even when we were quite alone together and the drink had been flowing freely so that he was in his most expansive mood, he showed that he was completely obsessed with the idea of destroying every single Jew that he could lay his hands on."

And he quotes Eichmann:

"Without pity and in cold blood, we must complete this extermination as rapidly as possible. Any compromise, even the slightest, would have to be paid for bitterly at a later date."

Morgen, a witness for the defense at the Nuremberg Trial, tells of his horror over what he found in the camps. He said:

"I asked the SS Court at Berlin to investigate Eichmann on the basis of my report. The SS Court in Berlin thereupon submitted to the chief of the Reich Security Main Office, SS-Obergruppenführer Kaltenbrunner, in his capacity as highest judge, a warrant to arrest Eichmann. Dr. Bachman reported to me that on the submission of this matter, rather dramatic incidents took place. Kaltenbrunner immediately called in Muller, and now the judge was told that an arrest was in no event to be considered, for Eichmann was carrying out a special secret task of utmost importance entrusted to him by the Führer."

Wisliceny was asked:

"Did he (Eichmann) say anything at that time as to the number of Jews that had been killed?"

The answer:

"Yes, he expressed this in a particularly cynical manner. He said he would leap laughing into the grave because the feeling that he had 5 million people on his conscience would be for him a source of extraordinary satisfaction."

Eichmann Has Gone Unpunished for Fifteen Years

Mr. President,

This is 1960 — fifteen years after Nazi Germany was defeated. Is it not inconceivable that Eichmann has enjoyed freedom during all these years? That he has not been brought to trial? Is this not a violation of the sovereignty of the spirit of man and of humanity's conception of justice?

It is not a matter of revenge. In the words of the Hebrew Poet Laureate — Bialik: "A fitting revenge for the innocent blood of one slain child the Devil himself has never conceived."

It is a matter of justice.

One of the major war criminals, *Frank*, governor-general of Nazi-occupied Poland, said at the Nuremberg trial:

"A thousand years will pass and this guilt of Germany will not be erased."

Is 15 years long enough a period to forget? Could a Jew be expected to forget that Eichmann is still free?

What wonder that many Jews could find no rest until they had ascertained whether he was alive and tracked him down. Are these the "armed bands" referred to in the statement of the distinguished Representative of the Argentine?

Mr. President,

I am convinced that many in the world were anxious to bring Eichmann to trial but the fact remains that for fifteen years nobody found him. And he could break the laws of who knows how many countries by entering under false name and forged passport, and abuse the hospitality of countries which, I am sure, recoil in horror from his deeds. But Jews, some of whom personally are the victims of his brutality found no rest until they located him and brought him to Israel — to the country to whose shores hundreds of thousands of the survivors of the Eichmann horror have come home; to the country that existed in the hearts and minds of the six million, as on the way to the crematorium they chanted the great Article of our Faith — "*Ani maamin be'emuna shlema beviat haMashiah*" — "I believe with perfect faith in the coming of the Messiah."

Denies That Israel Violated Argentine Sovereignty

A considerable part of the address we heard this morning was devoted to elaborating the charge that the State of Israel has violated the sovereignty of Argentina. I emphatically deny this charge. [The State of Israel has not violated the sovereignty of Argentina in any manner whatsoever] and there is nothing in the record to enable the Security Council to make any such finding. [The Government of Israel has made clear] in official communications to the Argentine Government, which appear now on the record of the Security Council, [that certain of its nationals in the course of their efforts to bring Eichmann to justice, may have committed infringements of the law of Argentina] and it has already expressed its regrets for this twice. [I wish to repeat in all solemnity before this Council my Government's regret at any infringements of the law of Argentina which may have been committed by any Israel nationals.] But, with the greatest respect for the distinguished Representative of the Argentine, I think that he is in complete error, as to the basic legal proposition, in confusing the illegal actions of individuals, for which regrets have been expressed, with a non-existent intentional violation of the sovereignty of one member-State by another. This distinction is so fundamental, and so well-established in international law, that I am at a complete loss to understand how it could be expected that the Security Council should make so far-reaching a finding as is implicit in the statement we heard this morning without any adequate basis in fact and in law.

Again I want to stress that if Israeli citizens broke the law of

Argentina, they broke it not in tracking down any ordinary criminal but in tracking down Adolph Eichmann. And here I must ask: Would Argentina have admitted Adolph Eichmann into its territory had it known his true identity? Would asylum have been accorded him? Surely not.

The distinguished delegate of Argentina expressed anxiety that this alleged violation, if not dealt with by the Security Council, might constitute a precedent. But modern history knows of no other such monster as Adolph Eichmann.

The distinguished Representative of the Argentine has sought to contrast the norms of ordinary legal procedure on the one hand, with resort to lynchings and mob violence on the other. Insofar as he sought in the latter connection to draw an analogy with the apprehension of Eichmann, there is no analogy. Far from lynching Eichmann or hanging him on the nearest tree, those who pursued him for over 15 years and finally seized him, have handed him over to the processes and judgment of the courts of law. The reference to mob passions and lawless justice in this context is unwarranted and provocative. This is not only my view and that of the Government of Israel. It is also shared by prominent Argentinians. In an article by the well known publicist, Ernesto Sabato published in the important paper EL MUNDO of 17 June, under the suggestive title "Sovereignty for Butchers", we read:

"How can we not admire a group of brave men who have during the years endangered their lives in searching throughout the world for these criminals, and had yet the honesty to deliver him up for trial by judicial tribunals instead of being impelled by an impulse of revenge and finish him off on the spot?"

I am sure that view is echoed in many parts of the world.

"Adequate Reparation" Already Made By Israel

In introducing this draft resolution the distinguished Representative of the Argentine expressed his desire to offer a conciliatory approach for the conclusion of the present debate. I appreciate these sentiments which we fully share. While fully reserving the right of my delegation to do so in due course, I do not wish at this stage to comment in detail on the draft resolution which he proposed. I will content myself now with putting one question to the distinguished Representative of the Argentine.

In paragraph 2 of the operative clause he refers to "an adequate reparation." My question to the Representative of the Argentine is: what

is the meaning of the expression "adequate reparation?" In putting this question I wish to repeat the general reservation we have made regarding the competence of the Security Council under Article 34 of the Charter and my question is solely directed to the purpose of obtaining the necessary clarifications so that the members of the Security Council who may be called upon to vote on this resolution will know what they are voting about. In the view of my Government, the expressions of regret which we have already made directly to the Argentine Government, and which were repeated here by me to-day, constitute adequate reparation.

Will not our Argentinian friends see the exceptional nature and uniqueness of this case? I am sure that their conception of right and justice must place this isolated incident in its proper perspective.

Eichmann's Prolonged Freedom Was Threat To Peace

I again ask: Is this a problem for the Security Council to deal with? This is a body that deals with threats to the peace. Is this a threat to peace — Eichmann's being brought to trial by the very people to whose total physical annihilation he dedicated all his energies, even if the manner of his apprehension did violate the laws of the Argentine? Or did the threat to peace lie in Eichmann at large, Eichmann unpunished, Eichmann free to spread the poison of his twisted soul to a new generation?

We value the friendship of the Argentine people; we fully understand its concern for its sovereignty; but we also respect it for its sense of justice. It is because we know that no threat to the sovereignty of the Argentine or of any other country has or will come from Israel, because of the sense of justice we both share, that we say in real friendship that this is not an item that should divide us any longer.

II. Excerpts from Statements made by Members of the Security Council in its Meetings on 22 and 23 June 1960

In the course of the debate in the United Nations Security Council which considered the Eichmann case, Council members expressed their horror and revulsion at the unprecedented crimes committed by the Nazis. Following are excerpts from the statements of delegates referring to this subject. Also quoted are clarifying statements relating to the meaning of the phrase "appropriate reparation" which, according to the draft resolution before the Council, was to be made by Israel.

From the Statements of Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, the Permanent Representative of the United States of America:

"... the United States believes that three considerations are uppermost. First, nothing which we do or say in the Council should further impair or complicate or embitter the otherwise normal and good relations between Argentina and Israel or make a fair settlement of this matter more difficult. Second, in the interests of peace and good order among nations, international law and practices in such matters as this should be upheld. Third, the whole matter cannot be considered apart from the monstrous acts with which Eichmann is charged. He has been charged with the systematic slaughter of some 6 million people whose offense, under the Nazi law which he served, was that they were Jews. It is a record of murder so savage and so staggering in its extent that even our century of colossal tragedy and endless brutalities has witnessed nothing to surpass it.

"In lists submitted to the United Nations War Crimes Commission, Eichmann was described as a war criminal by at least three of the countries which suffered under Hitler. I refer to France, Czechoslovakia and the Netherlands. He is reported also to have supervised mass murders during World War II in Hungary, that unhappy land.

"In view of this all too extensive background, we can well understand the strong feeling of the Government of Israel, many of whose citizens are the children, brothers, sisters and parents of people murdered in Europe hardly more than fifteen years ago.

"The United States, with its allies, fought World War II against Nazism. We were against it then; we are relentlessly against it now. If the Council will forgive a personal recollection, I saw the concentration camp at Dachau at the time that it was captured by the army. The memory of those literally thousands of piled up human bodies will stay with me through life. We believe, therefore, that whatever action the Council may take on this matter, and whatever is said in this debate, we must make it clear that not only do we not condone the monstrous acts with which Eichmann is charged; we remember them with horror and with boundless pity for his victims."

(866th Meeting, 22 June 1960)

"In her speech yesterday the Foreign Minister of Israel drew attention to the phrase "adequate reparation" and inquired as to its precise meaning. She made the thoroughly reasonable contention that if the Council was to accept the phrase "adequate reparation," the Council should know beforehand what "adequate reparation" was intended to mean. Accordingly, the United States now wishes to state its view of what this phrase means.

"The United States considers that adequate reparation will have been made by the expression of views by the Security Council in the pending resolution taken together with the statement of the Foreign Minister of Israel making apology on behalf of the Government of Israel. We therefore think that when we have adopted the pending resolution, adequate reparation will have been made, and that the incident will then be closed. Normal, friendly relations between the two Governments can then progress.

"It is on this understanding of the meaning of this resolution that the United States yesterday stated its position."

(867th Meeting, 23 June 1960)

**From the Statements of Ambassador Sir Pierson Dixon,
the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom
of Great Britain and Northern Ireland:**

"... we have the principle to which the Government of Israel understandably attaches great importance, and this is the principle — admittedly of a different order, though nonetheless weighty for the community of nations — that those who are accused of terrible, almost inconceivable crimes against vast numbers of innocent people should, by some means, be brought to trial. It would be wrong for this Council to underestimate the strength of feeling on this matter among Jewish people everywhere.

"Adolph Eichmann was specifically named in the Nuremberg judgment of 1 October 1946 as the head of that section of the Gestapo which was formed to carry out the policy of exterminating the Jews who at that time lived under Nazi rule. The passage of a few years cannot obliterate memories of so monstrous a persecution."

(866th Meeting, 22 June 1960)

"The representative of the United States has drawn attention to the important satisfaction which will be accorded to Argentina if this draft resolution is adopted by the Council. In addition, the regrets of the Government of Israel for any violation of Argentine laws are on the record. The United Kingdom delegation shares the view that these satisfactions can reasonably be regarded as adequate reparation and should enable the incident before us to be terminated without danger to the relations, hitherto so amicable, between the two countries concerned. It is indeed our confident hope that, after the thorough discussion in the United Nations of an issue which presented great difficulties for both of them, Argentina and Israel will be able, in the words of the second United States amendment, to advance their traditionally friendly relations.

"On this understanding, the United Kingdom will vote in favor of the Argentine draft resolution with the United States amendments."

(868th Meeting, 23 June 1960)

**From the Statements of Ambassador Armand Béard,
the Permanent Representative of France:**

"It will be fifteen years, on 26 June, that the founding Members of the United Nations, in signing the Charter, affirmed, in its preamble, their resolve

'... to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind ...'

The horrors which Europe, in particular, had been suffering for five years were present in the minds of all. If the name of Eichmann had at that time been pronounced here, there is no doubt that the attention of all Member States would have been unanimously directed upon the methods for bringing him to trial, nor is there any doubt that his punishment would have been carried out quite promptly. Such was the indignation in all minds at that time.

"Under what aspect does the Eichmann case, now before us, still merit our attention? Is it a case, before anything, of bringing out into the open the circumstances of his capture and of determining the violation of Argentine laws which stems from that capture? Should we not accord equal attention to the reasons which have aroused and which continue to arouse legitimate and universal indignation?

"The speeches which we heard yesterday from the representative of Argentina and the Foreign Minister of Israel are, in our view, typical of the present debate. With the knowledge and authority characteristic of him, Mr. Amadeo has unfolded the legal argument upon which the case of his Government rests. Mrs. Meir challenged certain aspects of that case by means of arguments worthy of consideration; then — and this was the principal part of her speech — she evoked what the name of Eichmann signifies to millions of people who have had occasion to know Nazi persecution all across Europe. On behalf of the living as well as the dead, she expressed the desire of these people to see the author of so many crimes brought to judgment. Who in this room was not moved in his deepest feelings by the account of these horrors, by the tale of suffering of all the victims, so many of whom were Jews."

* * *

"But the case before us cannot be limited to legal argumentation. Mr. Amadeo himself has indicated the disapproval of the Argentine Government and people of the crimes for which Adolf Eichmann is guilty. This indignation is incomparably greater in countries which, like my own, had to suffer the atrocities of such an individual; and therefore, all the more pressing is the demand that, without delay, all light be shed upon his activities, and that he be brought to proper judgment. The records of the Nuremberg trials and all information in our possession agree in representing Eichmann as one of the principal agents of the Nazi policy of extermination. Many of my compatriots are counted among his victims. Far from being a mere docile instrument of his superiors, Eichmann carried out his horrifying task with a zeal and an ardor which left no doubt whatsoever as to his responsibility for his deeds.

"It was recalled in this Council that my country, together with various others, demanded that he be turned over. For fifteen years he was hunted by all police

forces; for fifteen years he succeeded in escaping from them. How could those who finally succeeded in discovering him not have feared that with the slightest alarm given this man might again disappear?"

(867th Meeting, 23 June 1960)

"We have noted the regret and excuses formulated on numerous occasions and yesterday, once again, by the highest authorities of the Israeli Government.

"We consider that the Government of Argentina has found, in the expression of these feelings and in the course of the present debate, the satisfaction which it could hope to look for. To the extent that the amended text before us now is generally accepted as the manifestation of a final solution and as a symbol of the recovered harmony between the two countries, this text will be supported and endorsed by my delegation."

(868th Meeting, 23 June 1960)

**From the Statements of Ambassador Arkady A. Sobolev,
the Permanent Representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:**

"In order to analyse the substance of the complaint of the Argentine Government, the Security Council must first of all take account of the fact that this question is directly connected with the case of one of the prominent Nazi criminals who, in the course of the Second World War, committed the most grievous crimes against humanity.

"Who is Eichmann? In the course of many years up to the collapse of the Hitler regime, Eichmann headed the special section of the Gestapo which was charged with carrying out the directives of the Nazi leadership for the extermination of the Jewish population. The International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg, which judged the chief war criminals, ascertained that Eichmann was the special trusted aide of Himmler, Heidrich and Kaltenbrunner, that he was not only the responsible executor in the implementation of the Nazi policy of human extermination, but that he directly organized the extermination of millions of human beings in concentration camps. Eichmann committed his horrible crimes on the territories of Austria, Germany, France, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Greece and the Soviet Union.

"Thus, the war criminal Eichmann, who has been hunted for a lengthy period of time, is among those who should be brought before a court in accordance with the joint declaration of the Allied Powers concerning the extermination of the Jewish people of Europe that was being carried out by the Hitlerite authorities, the declaration dated 18 December 1942, as well as in accordance with the declaration of the Allied Powers concerning the responsibility of the Hitlerites for atrocities committed by them, dated 30 October 1943.

"It is useful to recall that in the former document there is recorded a solemn obligation assumed by the Allied powers 'to ensure jointly with all the United Nations that persons responsible for these crimes shall not escape the punishment which they deserve and to expedite the necessary practical measures for the attainment of this purpose.'"

"It should be emphasized in particular that the declaration of the Allied Powers of 30 October 1943 was unanimously approved by the Inter-American Conference on Problems of Peace and War, which took place in March 1945 in Mexico. In the decisions of that conference, it is recorded that the American States adhere to the declaration of the United Kingdom, the United States of America, and the Soviet Union of 1943 in the sense that persons guilty or responsible and their accomplices in the commission of such crimes shall be judged and punished. Moreover, that conference decided, 'that the Governments of the American Republics shall not grant asylum to persons guilty or responsible for the commission of such crimes or conniving in the commission thereof.'

"Moreover, the first session of the General Assembly of the United Nations unanimously adopted a decision which called upon the Governments of all States 'to take immediately all necessary measures so that war criminals who bear responsibility for the above-mentioned crimes or took direct part therein shall be apprehended and sent to those countries where they committed their appalling deeds for judgment and punishment in accordance with the laws of those countries.'

"It is important to note that all the above-mentioned agreements and decisions retain full force to this day.

"However, with the direct connivance of the Western Powers, many of the war criminals have succeeded in escaping just punishment. In fact, a portion of them, as is well known, have found sanctuary in the territory of Argentina.

"The Government of Argentina, in not taking measures for the timely arrest and the extradition of Eichmann as a war criminal, was not acting in accordance with the above-mentioned international agreements and decisions of the United Nations. Yet the above-mentioned decisions did place upon the Argentine authorities certain specific obligations in relation to the apprehension of Nazi leaders who have shunted themselves upon Argentine territory and certainly did place upon them the obligation not to offer exile to them.

"The peoples of the world who have lived through the horrors of the Second World War and who have experienced the full weight of the atrocities of the Hitlerites have always clamoured and continue to clamour for the meting out of justice to all war criminals without exception. Of course, this fully pertains to the war criminal Eichmann, on whose conscience several million human lives hang, including that of 6 million Jews."

(866th Meeting, 22 June 1960)

"... we of course support those provisions of the resolution in which it is stated that appropriate justice must be meted out to Eichmann for the hideous crimes committed by him against humanity. However, along with this correct and appropriate provision expressing the just indignation of all peoples over the inhuman crimes committed by the Nazi criminals during the Second World War, the resolution adopted by the Council also contains provisions which in fact and in practice can weaken the significance of those sections in which the Council recognizes the need for consign punishment of war criminals."

* * *

"Having pointed this out, we wish to stress emphatically, as have other

members of the Council, that we believe unconditionally that paragraph 2 of the resolution of the Council cannot be interpreted in any sense whatsoever as giving ground for any claim that Eichmann should be returned to the country where for many years he escaped justice for the appalling crimes committed by him."

(868th Meeting, 23 June 1960)

**From the Statements of Ambassador Bohdan Lewandowski,
the Permanent Representative of the People's Republic of Poland:**

"Adolf Eichmann is a well-known and for many years sought-after war criminal responsible directly for the murder of millions of human beings. As a high official of Nazi Germany he organized the mass killings of citizens of all European countries of Jewish origin in order to execute what he cynically called 'the final solution of the Jewish question' to be followed by similar 'final solutions' for other nationalities. The existing documents, as well as the living victims prove beyond any doubt that many atrocities committed by Nazis in concentration camps, mass executions in gas chambers, tortures and shootings, can be linked directly to Eichmann, who personally attended and supervised the implementation of Nazi plans to annihilate all human beings 'inferior to the master race.'

"We in Poland lived through those horrible years of Nazi contempt for humanity. Our soil is soaked with the blood of 6 million victims of Nazi cruelty. On our land Eichmann and his associates organized numerous factories of death, to mention only the concentration camps Auschwitz and Majdanek as best known for their gruesome efficiency.

"Therefore, when we are confronted with the question of Eichmann's future, we expect that he should be dealt with first of all as a war criminal and that he should be justly punished for his crimes. In the three-Power declaration on atrocities adopted in Moscow in November 1943, there appeared a warning which seems to me worth recalling now. It reads:

'Let those who have hitherto not imbrued their hands with innocent blood beware lest they join the ranks of the guilty, for most assuredly the three allied Powers will pursue them to the uttermost ends of the earth and will deliver them to the accusers in order that justice may be done.'

"At the request of the Argentine Government, the Security Council has begun a discussion which might have wide implications. We are deeply concerned that this discussion involving Eichmann should not cloud the main issue at stake: that war criminals have to be punished."

* * *

"The controversy involving the war criminal Eichmann already has gained international publicity and if everybody concerned does not act wisely and judiciously, it might become a heart-warming symbol to all unpunished war criminals.

"We have noted with satisfaction the declaration of 8 June in which the Argentine Government expresses

'its most emphatic condemnation of the mass crimes committed by the

agents of Hitlerism, crimes which cost the lives of millions of innocent beings belonging to the Jewish people and many other peoples of Europe.'

"This, and similar declarations, when implemented and applied to all still unpunished war criminals living now in Argentina or elsewhere, might be for all of us a new source of hope that justice will be fulfilled and at the same time, be a warning to all who conceive new and perhaps even more dangerous plans directed against humanity.

"For these reasons, we appeal to both sides in this untimely controversy to solve it by mutual effort in the best interests of justice."

(867th Meeting, 23 June 1960)

"The whole problem involving war criminal Eichmann, as presented here in the Security Council, has, in our opinion, two elements. One is the question of the sovereignty of a country, which in this case prompted the Government of Argentina to make a complaint against the Government of Israel. The second is the question concerning the problem of how to deal with Adolf Eichmann and what should be done in order that he shall be brought to justice for his past crimes. In our statement in the general discussion today we appealed to the Council that there should be nothing in our deliberations or decisions which could be construed or interpreted in such a way as to benefit only Eichmann and other still unpunished war criminals. In short, we desired that the first question should not becloud the second."

(868th Meeting, 23 June 1960)

**From the Statement of President of the Security Council,
Ambassador Tingfu F. Tsiang, the Permanent Representative
of the Republic of China:**

"Let me say at once that my Government and people share the sentiment of Israel in regard to Eichmann. No words of moral condemnation could be too strong for us. If the Chinese people should hear or read what the Foreign Minister said yesterday about Hitler's so-called 'final solution' of the Jewish problem and Eichmann's part in the implementation of that solution, all the Chinese people would, with one voice, say that Eichmann must be brought to justice."

(868th Meeting, 23 June 1960)

**From the Statement of Ambassador Egidio Ortona,
the Permanent Representative of Italy:**

"Italy is in full sympathy with the motives behind the action undertaken by a group of Israeli volunteers because it realizes that the Israeli people are still suffering from the atrocities of Eichmann and his superiors. Probably in every Israeli family a member or a relative or a close friend has been mourned because of Eichmann.

"No one could be insensitive to the gravest sins ever committed against humanity in our times, in which Eichmann, according to irrefutable witnesses, was not only a participant but an inspirer; torture and persecution of great masses of people, intolerance and violence, oppression and murder imposed on

very large numbers of innocent people. On another side, certain factual elements which make more complex the picture in front of us should be borne in mind. The abduction of Eichmann who was residing in Argentina under a false identity was accomplished by volunteers, who were operating apparently on the spur of their own moral pressures, and with the purpose of securing a criminal who had defied Argentine law after having defied, indeed, the fundamental laws of humanity.

"I certainly concur in what was said in this room about the necessity that the outcome of our proceedings should be in line with the persisting cry of moral indignation which has pervaded the world ever since such mass murders were committed."

(867th Meeting, 23 June 1960)

**From the Statement of Ambassador Sir Claude Corea,
the Permanent Representative of Ceylon:**

"We listened with deep emotion yesterday to the gruesome narrative of this martyrdom of the Jewish people in German-occupied Europe from 1938 to 1945. I wish here and now to assure the Foreign Minister of Israel that we have profound sympathy for the sufferings the Jewish people faced under the Nazi regime; we share with them the horror of the inhuman and monstrous crimes which were perpetrated on them during that period. Though we, in our part of the world, were ourselves the victims of the ravages of war, we were fortunate enough to escape the fate of the 6 million of Jewish people in Nazi-occupied Europe, and we bow our heads in silent tribute to their memory. We have always been opposed to discrimination of any kind and our feelings will always be for victims of such repressive discrimination. We wish to reaffirm here our dedication to the principle that all men are born equal and that considerations of race, of religion, of color should find no place in the common efforts of mankind for peace and justice."

(868th Meeting, 23 June 1960)

**From the Statement of Ambassador José A. Correa,
the Permanent Representative of Ecuador:**

"The exceptional importance attributed by the Government of Israel to the trial and eventual punishment of those responsible during the abominable Nazi domination for crimes committed against the Jewish people cannot be denied, and the desire of Israel that such crimes should not go unpunished is deeply and sincerely shared by Governments and peoples through the entire world. The Government and people that I represent firmly support the defense of justice in this case."

* * *

"In the case of Eichmann, the gravity of the crimes of which he is accused make it inconceivable, in our opinion, that the international community should allow him to enjoy impunity."

(867th Meeting, 23 June 1960)

**III. Statement by Mrs. Golda Meir after the Vote
of the Security Council
at its 868th Meeting, 23 June 1960**

My delegation and I have been deeply moved by the unanimous expression of horror and revulsion by Council members at the unprecedented crimes committed by the Nazi regime, and especially those with which Adolf Eichmann is being charged.

Since the birth of Israel as a State, it has been our aim to live in comity and friendship with all nations, and I wish to reaffirm our adherence to the principle that the relations between States must be based on mutual respect for national sovereignty, equality, political independence and territorial integrity.

We cherish our traditional ties of friendship with the Argentine Republic. Members of the Council have expressed their earnest hope that these ties will be preserved. I can assure the Council that this is the sincere desire of my Government and my people.

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